DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 388 745 UD 030 672

AUTHOR Schmitz, Stephen
TITLE Youth Gangs on Guam: A Status Report.
PUB DATE Aug 95
NOTE 19p.; Paper presented at the Annual Pacific Education Conference (12th, Koror, Palau, August 1-4, 1995).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Delinquency; *Elementary School Students; Ethnic Groups; Group Membership; *High School Students; Intermediate Grades; *Junior High School Students; *Juvenile Gangs; Middle Schools; Peer Groups; Racial Differences; Secondary Education; *Student Attitudes; Student Participation; Student Surveys; Violence; Youth Programs
IDENTIFIERS Chamorros; *Guam; *Middle School Students

ABSTRACT

This study of middle and high school students' attitudes about school and gangs on Guam is part of a larger study of the island's expanding youth gang problem. The quantitative component of the study examined data from 3 different surveys of 655 middle school and high school students, examining the incidence of gang membership and attitudes about them, as well as perceptions of violence and its causes in the schools. Respondents were preponderantly native Chamorros, followed by Filipinos. Student responses showed a disturbing pattern of gang violence and underlying racial intolerance that breeds fear among the students in the middle and high schools. Local gang membership was often drawn along racial lines, and ethnic distinctions appeared to be a catalyst for much school violence. Students were anxious and fearful of gang violence. A qualitative component of the study investigated attitudes of Guam's elementary school children about gangs through interviews with and papers by 74 fifth graders and 15 third graders and interviews with 9 educators. Children were ambivalent about gangs, fearing them and yet considering that there were advantages to gang participation. Education and youth programs are needed to combat the spread of gangs in Guam and the rest of Micronesia. (Contains 24 references.) (SLD)

**********
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
**********

ED 388 745

# Youth Gangs on Guam: A Status Report

A revision of a paper presented at the Pacific Education Conference
Koror, Palau, August 1-4, 1995

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

Stephen Schmitz

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
J. Schmitz
Univ. of Guam.
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

College of Education, University of Guam
UOG Station, Mangilao, Gaum 96923
phone (671) 735-2411 fax (671) 789-1231

ED 388 745



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Stephen Schmitz

Increases in gang activity and gang violence at public school campuses across America have alarmed its communities. Gang activity is spreading to new locales, rapidly becoming a suburban and rural as well as an inner-city problem. The gang problem has become so widespread that gangs can erupt in any school community, virtually anywhere and at any time. On Guam, gang activity has risen sharply over the past several years, affecting all of the middle and high schools; gangs have even penetrated many local elementary schools.

The impact of gangs on a community's schools can be devastating. Gang rivalries threaten the safety of gang members and non-gang students alike. School violence, drug use, and building vandalism all coincide with gang activity in the schools. Juvenile gangs have expanded to encompass younger children, females, and new ethnic groups. Gangs now reflect the social, racial, cultural, and economic diversity of American society (e.g., Burke, 1991; Gaustad, 1990; Kozol, 1991; Martinet, 1993; Nielsen, 1992; Wilson 1987).

Although mainland research discusses the proliferation, status and causes of gangs, little is known about Guam's gangs and growing gang problem. This study of middle and high schoolers' attitudes about school and gangs is part of a larger University of Guam investigation of the island's expanding youth gang problem.

## Investigating Gang Activity on Guam

On Guam, over 60% of the crime is committed by youths; much of this is gang-related activity from about 30 hard-core gangs. Their influence is spreading rapidly into the island's middle and elementary schools. About 110

permanent gangs roam the island and involve thousands of youths. There 2
are generally three types of gangs: Chamorro village gangs such as Dededo's Smurftown Boyz, Filipino fraternity gangs like the Scot Royal Brothers, and copy-cat gangs such as SYC (School Yard Crips), supposedly modeled after the mainland Bloods and Crips gangs.

Guam's island gangs are involved in crimes of burglary, robbery, auto theft, narcotics sales, petty theft, and physical violence. Gang warfare is common. This manuscript reports on the attitudes of middle and high school students about local gangs and their impact on schooling. In the UOG study, which entailed a quantitative and qualitative component, we hoped to glean some insights about how gangs operate at the school level and how they impact students' lives.

The quantitative component of the study examined data from three different surveys of 655 middle and high school students to investigate the attitudes of Guam's youth about the incidence and popularity of gangs. Research subjects were identified by asking graduate research students who were teachers to take surveys to their respective schools and distribute them in the classes of their colleagues. One survey, targeting middle-school students from 2 schools (n=227), asked students about the incidence of gang membership at their school. Students were asked to agree or disagree with a list of positive and negative gang-related statements. Students indicated whether gangs were a growing or diminishing problem, and finally, if they feared school gangs. A similar survey was administered to students at a local high school (n=128). For the purposes of comparison, these surveys were divided into three groups based on students' self-reported ethnicity.

An additional survey, concentrating on gang violence in the schools, was administered to 9th and 10th grade students from a different local high

school (n=300). This instrument inquired about perceptions of violence in local schools and asked students about the causes of gang violence, perceptions of school safety, and proposed gang-violence solutions. Later in the study, data gathered from the survey instruments was compared to qualitative data from ethnographic interviews of several individuals who work closely with Guam's youths. The ethnographic data, collected from structured interviews during another phase of the ongoing study, compared perceptions derived from youth surveys with the attitudes of professionals within the youth services community.



## Results

The combined results of the 3 school surveys reveal a school system infested with violence, fear, racial friction, and crime brought about by a burgeoning gang problem. Students perceived that gangs were dangerous, disruptive to a positive school climate, and a growing problem in local schools. Gangs have brought about fear in many students who feel threatened by the salient gang activities around them.

### Middle Schools

At each of the surveyed middle schools, respondents were preponderantly native Chamorros, accurately reflecting the actual racial mix of the schools. Although Guam enjoys a vast array of ethnicities, particularly those of Asia and Micronesia, the majority of the school population is Chamorro, followed by Filipinos.

The surveys reveal that at these schools most self-reported gang members are Chamorros. Filipino and other ethnic groups (mostly white mainlanders and students from nearby islands) reported that they are in a state of perpetual fear of the school gangs. While Filipinos and other non-Chamorro students overwhelmingly described gangs in negative terms,

Chamorros at these schools described gangs more positively, albeit still in negative terms. Chamorros felt that youth of other ethnic origins were most involved in gangs, but all groups tended to see most or all of the students in their schools as gang members. All groups agreed that the school gangs were a growing problem. Middle schoolers identified the names or tags of 46 gangs known to operate at the middle school level.

High Schools

Responses from the High School Gang Survey were similar to those of middle schools with a few notable exceptions. More Filipinos and other-ethnicity students reported gang membership than middle schoolers from the same ethnic groups. Filipinos and other non-Chamorro students described gangs in positive terms than at the middle school level. High schoolers generally seemed to be less fearful of gangs than their middle-school counterparts. All groups continued to report that gangs were growing. High schoolers listed 34 names or tags of local gangs.

In the High School Violence Survey, most high school students indicated that they believe racial tension and lack of school activities are some of the root causes of gang violence at school. High schoolers were less willing to implicate school overcrowding as an underlying cause of violence and students noted that gang membership was not a prerequisite to social success at school. High school administrators, teachers, and staff are not doing enough to combat the gang violence problem, according to these 9th and 10th graders.

## Discussion

Student responses show a disturbing pattern of gang violence and underlying racial intolerance that breeds fear among the students of Guam's middle and high schools. Local gang membership is often drawn along racial

lines, and the data drawn from the school surveys suggest that these ethnic distinctions may be a catalyst for much of the violence in local schools. Survey results clearly indicate that students are anxious and fearful of violence from a growing gang menace. Fear of school violence negatively impacts academic performance and social adjustment at school.

Fear of Violence

Ripordy (1989) linked fear of violence to declines in school behavior, social interaction, and physical health. Physical reactions to prolonged fear include sleeplessness, eating disorders, lethargy, and continual physical distress. Socially, fearful children may become overly aggressive or passive and withdrawn. Stressed children may change moods erratically, and become stubborn or apathetic. Acute social withdrawal is common and may actually deepen the child's anxiety. Especially detrimental to schooling is the tendency to shirk from going to school. Fearful children frequently display intellectual regression and infantile behavior, and may have difficulties dealing with new information. Cognitive confusion and memory loss are common, and are heightened by headaches and stomach pains. Among stresses children, deteriorating school performance, learning problems, and behavioral difficulties are common.

Ripordy linked school fear to social isolation and declining academic performance. Reyes (1989) showed that social isolation is a key predictor of the tendency to drop out of school. Isolation from peers produces a sense of alienation that contributes to school failure. Wehlage (1989) believed that the greatest single factor contributing to academic success is the development of social bonds between the student and the school, yet isolation frustrates the development of positive social relationships.

Schmitz and Christopher (1995) also noted the relationship between violence, fear, and social isolation. They suggested that gang membership is an attractive alternative to the isolation and boredom of island youth eager for a more active and adventurous lifestyle. The High School Violence Survey reaffirms this belief. Most high schoolers noted that lack of school activities was a factor exacerbating gang-related school violence. Most students believed schools could combat gangs by arranging school activities for students.

Qualitative Component

The qualitative study used ethnographic methods to investigate the attitudes of Guam's elementary school children about gangs and how the youth of the island acquire their knowledge and attitudes about gangs. We believed that gangs are becoming popularized and idealized in local elementary schools and wanted to pursue that hunch by observing gang-related graffiti in elementary schools, talking with local children and their teachers, and asking children to write in their classes about gangs.

Seven elementary-school teachers and two administrators from 4 different schools were interviewed and transcripts were made of their conversations. These semi-structured interviews, based on the ethnographic methods developed by Spradley, began with a standard series of questions. Informants were then asked to tell whatever else they could about gangs at their schools. Additionally, seventy-four fifth graders and 15 third graders were asked to write about their gang knowledge[1]; their papers were supplemented by nine in-depth interviews of fifth-grade students using a format similar to the teacher interviews. The teachers were volunteers from the University of Guam education graduate program. Classes of students

[1] Students' spelling was corrected to enhance the readibility of the study.

were accessed by asking teaching graduate students from reputed "gang schools" to volunteer their classes; interviews were of student volunteers from those classes.

These data were compared to other sorts of information taken from the University of Guam gang studies. Researchers visited elementary, middle, and high schools and talked with administrators, counselors, and students. Photographs were taken and translations made of gang tags and other graffiti. School security and administrators supplied gang notebooks, clothes, and other paraphernalia confiscated from gang members. Police officers and school security personnel were interviewed. By checking our data with other forms of data from other sources, we hoped to verify information, enhance validity, and eliminate bias. This multiple data source method, called triangulation, is a common qualitative research strategy (Denzin, 1970).

## Learning about Gangs

Some children in the study clearly knew more about gangs than others. While some children knew little or nothing about gangs, other children were quite willing to share considerable expertise. One child commented,

> One of the gangs I know about is the Black Hearts. The others I know are the Crips, the Red Hearts, Bs and Bloods. I really would like to help you! If you need some more, p.l.s. just ask me. I know!

Children claimed that they learn about gangs from various adult sources such as parents, teachers, and the media. Some written comments included:

> My parents told me not to be in a gang.
>
> I heard that a guy got shot because of a gang on TV.
>
> At school we learned that gangs are bad. Not to be in a gang.

Other children told us that they learn about gangs from tags and various graffiti:

A gang is like ABT or 3BZ. They're on the bus stops. 8

I know 3 gangs like SOB, NWS and 3BZ. They put that there at school. They think they bad and they write on stuff.

The primary source of information about gangs, however, is other children, notably siblings and school peers. One youngster wrote, "My brother is in a gang named 3BZ. They go together and steal things and fight the other gang." A 10-year-old informant explained,

> I know about gangs because they come here [to my school] from Dededo [Middle School] and sometimes they fight around here. They write on things around here and do bad things. They skip school and walk around here and hang on the fence. They beat people up. They smoke cigarettes.

Another source of information is elementary students who are themselves in gangs. Some informants knew elementary students who belonged to gangs. School children claimed to belong to or know about auxiliary children's gangs called "lollipop gangs" that are affiliated with older gangs. One third-grade student wrote about his gang experiences,

> I was in a gang before. Me and my friends beat people up because they messed with what was ours. There was this two big three graders and the one in a class in Room 1. He lives in Harmon and they always mess with us all the time. When we get in trouble we split. My friends don't care if we get in trouble. We don't care.

## Good Gangs/Bad Gangs

Guam school children expressed ambivalence about the gang membership. School children expressed the belief that most gangs were "bad." Students commented, for example, that,

A gang is like a bunch of bad boys.

A gang is not what you should do. A gang is where people do bad 9
things.

But "bad" was not always used as a negative term. One child commented, for example, that,

> In bad gangs they have guns and knives and they kill people. In [the village of] Harmon, they always mess and get in trouble, but if we get in trouble we don't care. A gang is people who are bad!

Many children believed that there were both "bad" and "good" gangs, and that while bad gangs were evil, good gang membership was acceptable. One child wrote, "There are good gangs and they are not bad. I will like to be in a good gang. I like gangs. It is cool dude. I like good people. Some gangs are good." One child described the desirability of joining a good gang by saying, "If is a good gang, join it. It is OK to be in a good gang." A fifth- grader explained, "I would not like to be in a bad gang. But I think it would be fun to be in a good gang." Another child urged, "So don't get in a gang that fights. If you get into a gang, get into a good gang. They are cool."

The children also explained what makes good-gang membership so beneficial. According to the fifth-graders, gangs provide protection, comradeship, entertainment, excitement, and a chance to venture into disallowed behavior. One girl saw gangs as primarily social: "A gang is a group of people. They are your friends. They share together. They eat together and play together. They have fun. That is what I think of a gang." A fifth-grade boy saw gangs' role as being primarily one of mutual protection.

> Gangs help people who can't fight for hisself or theirself. And gangs have a hideout. A gang is people who team up. If a gang gets in trouble, one or two people will call for help and the gang will come help you.

Disturbingly, many children commented that gang membership bestowed a 10
license to engage in violent or unlawful behavior. One child wrote excitedly, "I want to be in a gang. They will help you beat people up." Another child noted, "I will join to the gangs because they always smoke and walk in the road. They even drink beer and wine."

Stereotypes and Reality

One reason for the perception that there are good and bad gangs is that children's perceptions of Guam's gangs are an odd mix of mainland media stereotypes and actual experiences with Guam gang members. One child noted a number of "facts" about gangs on Guam that are certainly inaccurate: "Gangs usually stay in alleys and in garbage. They like to hurt small kids and sometimes kidnap or murder kids." Yet, there are no alleys on Guam and no documented cases of children kidnapped or murdered by gangs. Another child claimed that,

> Gangs use guns and shoot people. They like to live in the sewers and hide there the money they steal from banks. They wear black stuff and disturb people in the library. They always kill lots of people. I think it would be bad to be in a bad gang. People should only be in good gangs.

Again, the facts belie this student's perceptions of gangs. There has only been one reported gang-related murder and no known gang-committed bank robberies (Guam Police Department, 1993).

The elementary-school children interviewed in this study seemed to compare the popularization of American gangsterism with their experiences and conclude that locally-organized groups of youngsters must be on the good side because they do not exhibit the behaviors commonly attributed to mainland gangs. Witness the attitudes of one youngster about his brother's gang participation:

My brother is named Adam. He is in a gang. Not all gangs are bad stuff, some gangs like kids like a club. It be people that are just good friends. I think it would be fun being in a good gang. Some gangs you would not like to be in because 3BZ or ABT if you try to get out of the gang they will beat you up. So if you get in a gang get in a good gang. 11

In some ways, local information confirms these perceptions. There are few, if any, reported gang-related drug arrests of minors on Guam. Gang homicide is almost non-existent. There were only 15 gang weapons violations and 5 curfew violations of minors in 1993 (Guam Police Department, 1993). The Guam Police Department remains concerned about the incidence of gangs because of their chronic violent behavior, costly vandalism, and propensity towards theft (Guam Police Department, 1994). Yet, oddly, many interviewed schoolchildren seemed to take these types of offenses rather lightly. One youngster seemed to discriminate good from bad gangs solely on the basis of who gets hurt:

> A gang is like bad boys. They might steal very expensive stuff. They are a bunch of people who might smoke or fight. Sometimes a gang is like stealing from somebody. Some gangs get hurt and some do not. So don't get in a bad gang.

Another informant stated that the main difference between good and bad gangs is that bad gangs kill people:

> Gangs are people who smoke and drink and sniff drugs. They steal things and get in a lot of fights. In bad gangs they shoot people. But most gangs are just friends being around. My uncle was in a gang and all he got was spanked by my grandma.

The end result of the misconceptions, perpetuated stereotypes, popularity of gangs, popularity of a myth of a good gang, and perceived benefits of gang membership is that children have mixed feelings about becoming gang members, and often find the best choice is not to disavow gangs but to be selective in which gang to join. Many children had already made the choice. One child wanted to be with cool friends:

> I think people join gangs cause they think gangs are cool. It is cool being in a nice gang. I would like to be in a good gang to be with my friends. My friends are in a cool gang.

Another youth had decided to team up with a perceived team of good guys. He also saw choice as an important criteria.

> People team up on gangs. We also team up on gangs but we team up on good gangs not bad ones. We can join lots of groups and be together with the group and we are not forced to do it. If you get in a bad gang, find another good group to get you.

A common rationalization was that there were good gangs and bad ones and it was incumbent upon the responsible child to get into a good gang. As one child explained,

> A gang is where you fight. A big gang is to stop the other who are fighting. Some people are bad and some are good. I want to be in a gang. It is cool to be in a gang. I like gangs. I like cool people. In a gang you can get hurt. But most of what you should not do is don't be in a bad gang. You should only be in a good gang.

Prior to this study, information collected ethnographically by the researchers was ambivalent regarding the growth of gangs on the island. Some local authorities saw gangs on the decline among youngsters. The coordinator of a local youth shelter explained to the researchers that,

> We really haven't seen as much gang-related activity as before. Gangs have gone downhill because the big anti-gang push in the schools. It is just not as big a thing as it used to be.

Other local agencies like the Guam Police Department (GPD) argued that gangs are still popular among Guam's youth. A GPD spokesperson commented,

> Gangs continue to be a big problem for us. We still see them committing a lot of crime and vandalism. They are still causing problems in the schools. We still arrest a lot of gang members.

The surveys demonstrate that students see gang membership as a widening phenomena involving the majority of middle and high school students.

## Guam Gangs: Potential for Trouble

The perception that gangs are expanding must be viewed with alarm. Guam's youth gangs are dissimilar to mainland gangs in a number of key ways. They are smaller and less organized. Displays of disrespect to other gang members such as crossing out tags or derogatory signing (hand signals) does not elicit violence on Guam whereas on the mainland lethal repercussions are common. Yet, despite the seriousness of gang activity on the mainland, music, movies, and other types of entertainment have popularized U. S. gangs. With the coverage that gang activity has received in recent years in all aspects of the media, and the continued popularization of

entertainers like "Snoop-doggie-dog," many observers excuse local gangs as 14
feeble and harmless attempts to imitate "what's cool" on the mainland.

Such leniency has been marred by the growing visibility, and criminality, of gang activity on the island. Gang vandalism and crime are increasing as never before. Recently, there have been several incidents of car thefts, purse snatchings, and break-ins. Local police have claimed that such crimes were an anticipated response to an increased availability of drugs. The local fear, enunciated to researchers by police, shelter coordinators, school principals, social workers, and high schoolers alike, is that if gangs grow and mature, they will move more heavily into drug dealing, gang warfare, and a dirth of problems commonly ascribed to mainland gangs. As a police spokesperson explained,

> The problem, as we see it, is that gangs can very quickly move into other illegal activities like dealing drugs. The dealing drugs is already becoming a serious problem for us, and we know that some of the gangs [already] sell drugs. They also have made contacts with some of the mainland gangs. It is not true that there are no drugs on Guam or that gangs do not sell drugs on Guam. They do -- and the problem is getting bigger.

As Guam's gangs grow, the potential for increased drug trafficking and other forms of crime is immediate and quite real. One obvious consequence to the increase in drug trafficking by gang members is a rise in related crimes such as burglary, robbery, and car theft. Even more serious is the potential for gang violence and homicide. There have been several recent incidents of gang fighting characterized by the police as "rumbles" and at least two incidents of gang-related drive-by shootings.

The government of Guam has already sponsored a youth gang conference and began work on a Guam gang task force. As of yet, nothing positive has been done to combat the gang problem. Although the government complains about the expense of removing gang graffiti from government buildings and schools, the Guam Police Department has been the only official agency to become actively involved in the gang menace. The government continues to write gangs off as a silly expression of youth independence and a reaction to the popularization of mainland gangs.

The rest of Micronesia might learn from our mistakes. Now that the gang problem is upon us on Guam, we have not been able or willing to craft an appropriate response. Other Micronesian communities have the opportunity to begin education and youth services programs that teach island children about the evils and dangers of street gangs before the problem spreads, as they have already done to combat drug abuse.

If gangs are spreading through the schools, and involve violence and unlawful behavior that interferes with the learning of other children, then they are a problem whether or not they are similar to mainland gangs. The real danger is that as gangs spread, they will spread into more dangerous and violent sorts of behavior. The time to act against gangs in Micronesia is now, not waiting until the problem gets of hand.

## References

Bowker, L.H., & Kline, M.W. (1983). The etiology of female juvenile deliquency and gang membership: A test of psychological and social structural explanations. Adolescence, 18(72), 739-751.

Burke, J. (1991). Teenagers, clothes, and gang violence. Educational Leadership, 49(1), 11-13.

Denzin, N. (1970). The research act. Chicago: Aldine

Guam Police Department (1993). Guam Police Department juvenile gang-related statistics: 1993. Guam: Guam Police Department.

Guam Police Department (1994). Gangs on Guam. Guam: Juvenile Investigation Section Gang Unit, Guam Police Department.

Gaustad, J. (1990). Gangs (ERIC Digest Series Number EA 52). Eugene, OR: ERIC Clearinghouse on Educational Information, College of Education, University of Oregon. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 321 419)

Guasted, J. (1991). Schools respond to gangs and violence. OSSC Bulletin, 34(9), 1-62.

Harper, S. (1989). L.A.'s gang busters--Lessons learned. School Safety, Fall, 12-15.

Kozol, J. (1991). Savage inequalities: Children in America's schools. New York: Crown.

Leininger, M. (1985). Nature, rationale, and importance of qualitative research methods in nursing. In M. Leininger, (Ed.), Qualitative research methods in nursing (pp. 1-25). Orlando, FL: Grune & Stratton.

Lofland, J., & Lofland, L. (1984). Analyzing social settings. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Martinet, K. (1993). Youth gangs: A spreading problem. Momentum, 24(2), 68-72.

McKinney, K. C. (1988). Juvenile gangs: Crime and drug trafficking. Juvenile Justice Bulletin, Sept., 1-8.

Nielsen, S. (1992). The emergence of gang activity: One school's junior high school's response. NASSP Bulletin, 76 (543), 61-67.

Peters, H. (1988). A study of southeast asian youth in Philadelphia: A final report. Philadelphia, PA: Institute for the Study of Human Issues.

Ripordy, S. C. (1989). Children at risk due to experienced trauma and loss. In J. M. Lakebrink (Ed.), Children at risk (p. 316-330). Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas Publishers.

Reyes, P. (1989). Factors that affect the commitment of children at risk to stay in school. In J. M. Lakebrink (Ed.), Children at risk (p. 316-330). Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas Publishers.

Schmitz, S., & Christopher, J. C. (1995) Troubles in Smurftown: Youth gangs and moral visions on Guam. Child Welfare, 74, in print.

Spradley, J. P. (1979). The ethnographic interview. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Spradley, J. P. (1980). Participant observation. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Spergel, I.A. (1989). Youth gangs: Problem and response. A review of the literature. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Stover, D. (1986). A new breed of youth gang is on the prowl and a bigger threat than ever. American School Board Journal, 173(8), 19-24.

Wehlage, G. C. (1989). Engagement, not remediation or higher standards. In J. M. Lakebrink (Ed.), Children at risk (p. 316-330). Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas Publishers.

Wilson, W. J. (1987). The truly disadvantaged: The inner class, the underclass, and public policy. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.